/128 cont./

122 Our present guide, although an insignificant little man
123 about 50 years old with a physiognomy by no means intelligent, is a very well-known personality among all -- probably more correctly visitors rather than inhabitants of the upper Olenék -- for the route from the Anábara to the Wiljui /Vilyui/, as well as laterally to the Lena, which is said to be used even by the
● [443] traders, goes by way of his settlement. Boldonó probably plays on the Olenék the same role of middleman that Uwotschán and our old Golé play on the Tunguska, and neglects his pockets just as little as those two. Unfortunately Golé and Boldonó could not communicate their trade secrets to each other, because the former understood as little of the Jakut /Yakut/ language as the latter did Tungus, and Sseliphón, the interpreter, was too young to be initiated in such important matters, especially since he had enough cunning to spoil Golé's practice after their return.

/129/ We unfortunately had daily examples, often of the most ridiculous kind, of Golé's passion to make deals, even the most petty ones. He gladly took the smallest cigar butts and in general anything that had a name, in the previous year along the Tunguska even fired percussion caps /Pistons/, the uselessness of which he must have become convinced by now after more frequent use of our guns, for he threw them away him-
[443] self. Concerning the prices of reindeer, skins, and the like, upon meeting people and after he had duly inquired about them, we could never obtain an account from him, or he gave very high prices, in the hope, in case of a possible trade, of profiting from our ignorance of the Tungus language, even if it were only an extra meal, although he really had no lack of them with us. However often he practiced such deceptions, not always so petty, and was therefore reprimanded, he could not stop it, and in view of his unquestionably very great services for our expedition otherwise, there was nothing to do but to watch him and give him as little opportunity for it as possible.

/144 cont./

122 the statement concerning the date when the report was re-
123 ceived in Wiljuisk agreed with its dispatch. /The remainder of p. 144, p. 145, and the first two paragraphs of p. 146 are omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. Page 146 continues as follows./

On September 7, at the mouth of the very considerable left tributary Ukikít, as Temír Jegór had prophesied, we met his older brother Nikofór, who held the position of a dessjátnik (a community office). While I made magnetic observations in spite of the bad weather, he told Czekanowsky something about the further course of the river, the places where people were to be found, and the like. In general, I must note here, the results of such inquiries are reliable to some extent only when they are made from different persons, completely /147/ independent of one another. All statements about distances are particularly unreliable; the number of days of travel is most indefinite, as we had opportunity to experience often enough. In addition there is the very common deliberate twisting of the truth, especially with reference to the trade routes. Since the [441] [443] Jakuten /Yakut/ settled here on the Olenék are all more or less middlemen between the Russian traders on the Lena and [809] the Wiljui /Vilyui/, on the one hand, and the Dolgan on the Anábara, on the other hand, it is obvious that they do not want to be seen on the maps by strangers whose intentions they do not know. Such a route passing by Temír Jegór's dwelling place led to the Dolgan.

122 On September 7 we passed a second considerable left
133 tributary with an especially wide mouth, the Bírekta, and on the next day the likewise quite large Butt. The tributaries from the right side are insignificant, for here the Lena with those belonging to it already comes too close. Unfortunately we could only supply ourselves with meat from Nikofór; we could not get a guide here either, because his son had gone to look for stray reindeer, which, it seems, is one of the chief occupations of these uncivilized peoples. /The last paragraph on p. 147 and the first two paragraphs on p. 148 are omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. Page 148 continues as follows./

skillfully made; the wooden crockery was usually decorated with carving, while the birchbark objects were decorated with horsehair designs. 322

Fur-dressing and tanning were very common. The materials were made into a great variety of different things—clothing, footwear, and headgear; carpets, underlays (usually made of horse- or cow-hide, often sewn together from pieces into a checkered mosaic), blankets (from horse-skin); the leather vessels were made in a variety of sizes, ranging from the enormous simiir' for kumys down to the tiny pail or tursuk; various parts of saddles, straps, nooses and so on. The actual working of the leather and fur was very primitive—the hide was smoked (in ancient times and even in the 17th century this was done in earth stoves), crumpled, smeared with oil or cream, and there was no true tanning. The manufacture of reindeer suede was evidently learnt from the Evenks and the Evens. The Yakuts themselves did not make any cloth, either from animal wool or vegetable fiber—and only used what was imported. They did not know about spinning, nor how to roll felt. On the other hand, horsehair was widely employed; it was used for the ornamentation of birchbark and other objects, particularly for braiding different kinds of lassoes, cord, laces and nets, loops, fans to keep flies away, stuffing pillows for saddles and so on. The Yakuts also wove horsehair for decorative purposes. The individual hairs were twisted into a thread by hand on a bare knee, without using a spindle. 281 286 283 439 531

Blacksmithery was the only trade among the Yakuts which had long acquired commercial importance, although normally it was not a separate trade from agriculture. In the 17th century the Russians found it to be highly developed among the Yakuts. The iron was obtained from marsh ore, of which there was a great deal, particularly on the Vilyuy. The ore was mined along the rivers Botoma, Amga, Sola and others. It was first smelted in primitive blast furnaces. But at the beginning of the 20th century the Yakut smiths were already working with imported iron. They forged it into a variety of implements and utensils, weapons and so on. Apart from iron, the Yakut smiths worked low-grade silver, which in the 19th and 20th centuries was partly obtainable by melting down Russian coins. This silver was made into various ornaments, linings for belts, whips, horse harnessing. The equipment used in the smithies was fairly unsophisticated—furnaces worked with bellows (portable), anvils, hammer and tongs. 326 [316]

The fact that they engaged in ceramics singles out the Yakuts from the people around them. They evidently retained pottery as a relic of the Neolithic stage. Nevertheless, it was very primitive. To the dark, viscous clay they used to add powder ground from old fired pots and then mold the clay mixture diluted with water into the walls of the pot with their hands (without a wheel), using a stone to smooth them out (on the inside) and a trowel (on the outside). The pots were fired in the hearth. The pottery varied in size and the shapes and designs were crude. In the last few decades, Yakut ceramics have been replaced by Russian ones. 323

Mammoth-ivory carving (Yakutiya is rich in mammoth skeletons), which was probably not begun before the 19th century, was not a common trade, although it was an interesting one. The ivory was carved into a variety of trinkets and small boxes. 321

These were the main types of production among the Yakuts prior to the Revolution. As a whole, the Yakut economy remained at a fairly low level of development, and by and large remained a subsistence economy. Nevertheless, the sale of homemade products acquired ever-greater importance towards the end of the 19th century. This was mainly the case 433 443

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

with the toyons, particularly in the Olekminskiy Okrug, close to the ulusy associated with the Lena gold mines and those lying near the town of Yakutsk. The toyons sold butter, meat, hay and other agricultural products at these markets. 443

Commercial relations then began to develop within the actual Yakut ulusy. Forged objects had long been manufactured for purposes of sale, and there were cases in which wooden, bone and other articles were made to order. Products from cattle-breeding, hay, firewood and building materials were also often sold and bought; the products of hunting—furs—were almost universally sold. Nevertheless, the overall structure of the Yakut economy was still a subsistence one.

The division of labor within the family was traditional. Male and female occupations were sharply divided. Men and women looked after the stock but the former preferred to deal with horses (and even milk the mares), while women chiefly tended cattle. Everyone took part in the haymaking, but the mowing itself was a male occupation. Hunting and fishing were reserved for men. Woodworking, metalworking, and mammoth-ivory carving were male occupations, while the dressing of hide and fur, sewing clothes and footwear, making leather and clay vessels were reserved for women. Finally, it was the males who cut the timber and built the dwellings, while the women carried water, lit the fires and cooked the food. Hired workers, dependent poorer kinsmen, and, in ancient times, slaves in many cases performed both male and female tasks. 462 [466]

Means of Transportation

The ancient Yakut means of transportation were adapted to the barely passable taiga. Before the advent of the Russians, the Yakuts did not know of the wheeled carriage, and until very recently people in the more out of the way places had never seen wheels. Sledges and sledge harnesses were known; in the central regions the Yakut sledges were almost identical in shape to the Russian ones, but in the north they were straight-sided reindeer sledges. 493

In the old days, the Yakuts had their own particular type of sledge (silis syarga); the runners were not bent, but made of a piece of wood with a rootstock and had a slight natural curve. Yakut sledges are mentioned in 17th-century documents as a means of transportation. The most primitive form of harnessing was a strap attached to the saddle of a horse. In other cases shafts were used in the same way as the strap. Oxen were more often harnessed to sledges than horses. The ox was harnessed to shafts with a yoke; the Yakut yoke (*бурга.ідіи*, or *буулаға* and *сүүрдэр*) is made in two pieces, very different from the Russian or Ukrainian ox-yoke, and like the sledge was evidently indigenous in origin. The Yakuts travelled on the sledges, and sometimes still do, both in winter and summer. 492

A more typical means of transportation was the horse (used both for riding and carrying packs). The Yakut packsaddle, the base of which was two wooden boards secured together at an angle, is similar in shape to the type used by the South Siberian pastoralists. The same thing can more or less be said of the riding saddle, except that in the case of the Yakuts it is higher, broader and thicker. The saddle frame was usually made of wood; the high, wide saddlebow was usually reinforced at the front with a stamped silver plate with a forged hook in the center for the reins; the low back was also encased in silver. Silver ornaments, incidentally, are characteristic of a later period and the older saddles (from excavations) are not adorned with this metal. The saddle frame was covered with a [581]

glass, tambours (extra doors with an air lock in between) and zavaliskas (mounds of earth around the house). A common practice is to ice over the house for the winter with a mixture of snow and water. Double ceilings, double floors, horizontal flues and shutters are still used, although rather rarely. The brick or tile stove is sometimes combined with the traditional Yakut fireplace. In many houses there is an extra iron stove in addition to the brick stove.

The internal appearance of dwellings has also changed. The furniture known before to the Yakuts (tables, stools and benches) has become less massive and more varied. We now find bookshelves, chairs, small dressing-tables and mirrors. Factory-made crockery and utensils are encountered in every home. Clocks (including alarm clocks), writing materials, and books have become common, and phonographs are also sometimes found. In most houses the walls are adorned with posters, pictures of Communist Party leaders, photographs, bookshelves, and over the bed there is usually a rug made of skin from the reindeer's head, bead-embroidered saddlecloths, or else the walls are covered with cloth. The windows have curtains.

Tremendous changes have taken place in the way of life of the Yakuts. Many collective farms now have electricity and radio. Clean clothes, hot baths, and attention to their personal appearance are typical of most of the collective-farm members. There has been a change in interests, habits and way of life. The outlook of the population has broadened. Books can now be found in every house. In the settlements people enjoy movies, and attend lectures and discussions in the reading rooms. Young people take part in ski-races, chess and other sporting events. Amateur song and dance groups in the clubs are usually of interest to the whole settlement. The families are no longer isolated and no longer keep to themselves.

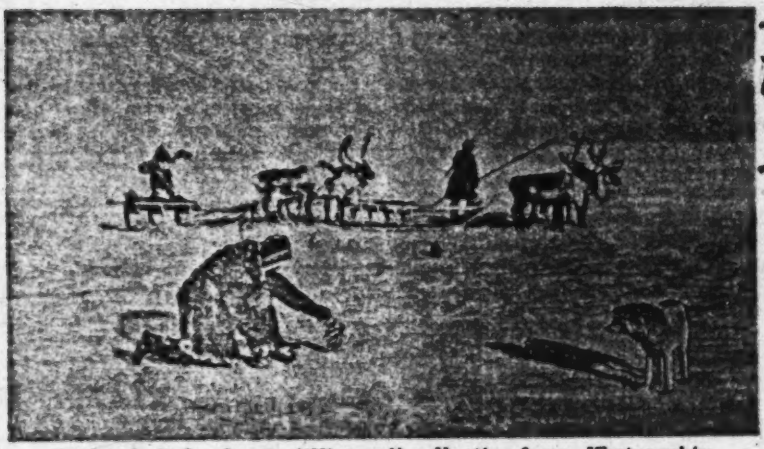
A typical innovation for city children is toys, such as figures of horses and cows, rubber dolls, rattles, clockwork trucks, and so on. In addition to these, we commonly find delicately carved wooden animals and tiny bows and arrows. In the schools and boarding facilities children amuse themselves with the most popular table games. In the spring and summer they play various games, including hide-and-seek and blind man's-buff.

A great deal has changed in the Yakut diet, as well.

It should be remembered that before the Revolution Yakutiya was a country of chronic famine. Most of the Yakut population suffered from starvation every year, particularly at the end of the winter and in spring. Bread has now become a normal food not only in the southern but also in the northern areas. Groats and macaroni are now part of the staple diet. The consumption of vegetables and potatoes has also considerably increased.

In many regions the collective farms grow cucumbers, radishes, cabbages, onions and beets. Vegetables are imported in the dehydrated form. Everywhere the population is amply provided with tea, sugar, and tobacco. There are bakeries at trading points in most settlements. Meat and fish are consumed by the Yakuts in large quantities, particularly in the northern regions, where they are the staple diet. In the southern regions an important part of the diet is dairy products. On account of the overall improvement in the living standards of the people, sapwood is no longer consumed as food. Nor do they eat pickled fish any more. Local traditions are still retained in the cooking of dairy products, meat and fish. In the northern regions meat is commonly undercooked. Milk is made into some curious dishes such as suorat, khayakh, chokhoon, *хобуор* and so forth. In a number of regions reindeer gristle is still eaten in the raw state as a delicacy, and so are the liver and bone marrow of this animal. Many families eat freshly

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan



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Setting bait for foxes. "Victory" collective farm, Khatangskiy Rayon, Taymyr National Okrug.

become common. The art of dancing was practically unknown to the Dolgans. 534
Like the Evenks, they only had rounds (with the refrain "kheyro") in which 535
the men and women went round and round, leading each other by the arm 171
and stamping on the ground.

The graphic art of the Dolgans was of an applied nature. Both festive 531
and ordinary clothing was richly ornamented with beads or appliquéd with 294
narrow strips of colored material. Patterned embroidery with deerhair on suede dyed red with an infusion of alder bark or ochre, or dyed black with graphite, was common. Also to be found was fine openwork embroidery with tendon thread on the straps and belts of the reindeer harness. Decorating the clothing was a job of the women. The men mainly engaged in 321
mammoth-ivory carving. They acquired a particularly high degree of skill in carving cheek-plates for the reindeer halter. Tin-inlaid fronts for reindeer saddles and knife handles were also found. The smiths were con- 326
sidered to be very skilled at inlaying iron objects with copper and silver. The runners and backs of light, low sleds common in the Khatangskiy Rayon show an intriguing range of colors. Dolgan designs for the most part are 331
geometric; they consist of combinations of crosses, semicircles, zigzags and broken lines. Wood-carving of a religious nature was also commonly 322
found. The representations were usually very symbolic.

The Post-Revolutionary Period in the Life of the Dolgans

[In 1926, there were already 17 cooperative stores in the Dolgan territory. 631
In 1931, the former clan Soviets were changed over and replaced by territorial nomadic Soviets, which went to make up the Taymyr Dolgan-Nennish 443
National Okrug.

[Collectivization of the Dolgans was begun in 1930-31 and completed in 474
1938. The Dolgan collective farms have collectivized reindeer herds, lines 233
of permanent polar-fox traps, supplies of portable steel springtraps, 224
firearms for hunting and protection of the herds, seines and vertical nets, reindeer harness, sleds, buildings, and special Arctic clothing. The

Tangus RU5
Yakut RV2

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/37 cont./
been visiting for a long time, here on the Malmalty River (6).

6. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., p. 167.

T [233]

In fact, according to information collected by Ussolzef among the Birar (for him, "Manägern"), the Russian Tungus -- whom, moreover, he calls "Orotschonen." /Orochon/ throughout -- wander as nomads along the Bureja with their reindeer to the village of Schewaki, about a fourteen-days' trip from the mouth of this river. They cannot go farther downstream with their reindeer, because they can find no fodder there for their animals, but still some of them come down to the mouth of the Bureja in bark canoes (7). In the train of the Tungus, or inviting them

T 439 563
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[113]

7. Shvarts", Podrobn. otch. o rezul't izslied. Matemat. Otd. Sibirsk. Eksp. Geogr. Obshch., Ch. I, p. 51.

along /38/ enterprising Yakut traders also travel over the Stanovoi Mountains and sometimes settle down for a longer period of time in the Chinese territory along the Bureja /Bureya/ or Dseja /Zeya/ and their tributaries. Middendorff estimated that in his time there were about 25 traders from Yakutsk on the move, sometimes on this side, sometimes on that side of the Dseja and Bureja Range (1).

1. Op. cit., p. 168.

One Yakut lived permanently at the above-mentioned gathering place of the Birar, Manegir, and Russian Tungus on the Inkanj; others came from time to time with various wares and necessities from Yakutsk as well as from the Udskoi ostrog. Some of them likewise settled side by side and with the Tungus along the Kebeli and Niman; indeed, at the former place a Yakut had already been in residence for six years. Middendorff's Yakut guide (Wantscha) had himself visited the Jorach, a tributary of the Bureja, 18 years earlier. Another Yakut (Trofim), with

Y 484